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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that Affirmative Action requires both greater use of persons in the existing pool of qualified persons in the context of hiring for university faculty positions, and long range action to increase the number of women and minorities in that pool. First, it will indicate doctoral production. Second, it demonstrates that, at least for women, the already available pool is not being adequately used. Third, it will show that certain persons have, until very recently, been systematically filtered out of the pool. Fourth, it concludes by suggesting that really effective affirmative action requires an educational process aimed at three target groups: those who do the hiring, those who seek access to the pool of doctorates, and those who have traditionally contributed to the filtering process which has kept women and minorities out of the pool. (Author/MJM)

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AVAILIBILITY POOLS AS THE BASIS FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION *

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Federal policy requires that all institutions with Federal contracts totalling more than $50 000 develop written affirmative action plans on behalf of women and minority employees.[1] These affirmative action plans are required to include numerical goals and timetables, based on the available pool of qualified persons. In the context of hiring for University faculty positions, the pool of qualified persons consists of those who have earned the doctorate or its professional equivalent in their field.

This paper will argue that affirmative action requires both greater use of persons in the existing pool, and long range action to increase the number of women and minorities in that pool. First, it will indicate the distribution of women in the recent pool of doctoral production. Second, it will demonstrate that, at least for women, the already available pool is not being adequately used. Third, it will show that certain persons have, until very recently, been systematically filtered out of the pool. Fourth, it will conclude by suggesting that really effective affirmative action requires an educational process aimed at three target groups: Those who do the hiring, those who seek access to the pool of doctorates, and those who have traditionally contributed to the filtering process which has kept women and minorities out of the pool.

In a world of only random differences between the sexes, and among ethnic groups, we would expect only random differences in their distribution within social institutions, such as Universities. The discrepancy between the proportion of women and minorities in the population and at various levels within the institution is one measure of the existence of non-random factors.

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This paper is based on data about women. However, it is clear that some of the same causal mechanismas are operating to filter minority persons out of the doctoral pool. These include a social climate which systematically lowers aspirations and expectations, sense of competence and self-esteem - both actively, by discouragement, and passively, by absence of social support and encouragement.

1. The distribution of women in the doctoral pool.

It seems reasonable to assume that a minimal definition of the "pool of qualified persons" eligible for hiring at tenured faculty levels in Universities is "those persons with doctorates in the field." Among those who actually entered that minimal pool from 1960 through 1969, 12% were women.[2] These range from 97% of the doctorates earned in Home Economics, to less than 1% of those in Engineering. In the academic disciplines, English has the highest percentage of women doctorates, with 24%. It is followed by Anthropology, with 21%; Psychology, with 20%; Sociology, with 17%; the Biological Sciences, with 14%; History, with 12%; Political Science, with 9%; Chemistry, Economics, and Mathematics, each with 6%; and Physics, with 2% of the doctorates earned by women.

2. The distribution of women on University faculties.

This section is based on a secondary analysis of the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The analysis was restricted to the twenty-five Universities designated "High Quality" in column 390 of the public codebook for the study.

Table 1, below, shows the juxtaposition of Availibility Pools and Utilization for selected academic disciplines. Availibility Pools are here defined as the percentage of women earning doctorates in the 1960's for each field. Utilization is here defined as the percentage of women among those persons with a doctorate on the faculties of

THE TWENTY-FIVE INSTITUTIONS DESIGNATED AS "HIGH QUALITY UNIVERSITIES" BY THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION.

TABLE I

% WOMEN IN AVAILIBILITY POOLS AND % WOMEN PH. D.'S ON FACULTIES OF HIGH QUALITY UNIVERSITIES FOR SELECTED ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES.

DISCIPLINE	AVAILIBILITY POOL	UTILIZATION	UNDERUTILIZATION
HUMANITIES	18% (22,392)	8% (1,525)	10 *
SOCIAL SCIENCES	15% (22,854)	8% (1,319)	7 *
BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES	14% (17,708)	8% (957)	6 *
PHYSICAL SCIENCES	5% (31,902)	3% (1,388)	2 N. S.
TOTAL ACADEMIC	12% (94,856)	7% (5,189)	5 *

SOURCE: AVAILIBILITY POOLS: WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE, PROPORTION OF DOCTORATES EARNED BY WOMEN, BY AREA AND FIELD, 1960-1969, JUNE 1971. DISTRIBUTED BY THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES, 1818 R. ST., N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20. UTILIZATION: SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, SPONSORED BY THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION.

* THE PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE AS A MEASURE OF UNDERUTILIZATION IS STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL, USING A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE OF A TWO TAILED TEST. THE NUMBER IN PARENTHESIS IS THE BASIS OF THE PERCENTAGE. READ "18% OF THE 22,392 DOCTORATES IN THE HUMANITIES WERE EARNED BY WOMEN. 8% OF THE DOCTORATES ON FACULTIES AT HIGH QUALITY UNIVERSITIES IN THE HUMANITIES WERE WOMEN, GIVING AN UNDERUTILIZATION OF TEN PERCENTAGE POINTS."

UNDERUTILIZATION IS LARGEST IN THE FIELD OF ENGLISH, WHICH HAS AN AVAILIBILITY POOL OF 24% WOMEN, AND ONLY 6% WOMEN AMONG THE FACULTY MEMBERS WITH DOCTORATES, GIVING AN UNDERUTILIZATION OF EIGHTEEN PERCENTAGE POINTS. NOT ONLY IS THE AVAILABLE POOL OF QUALIFIED WOMEN BEING UNDERUTILIZED AT HIGH QUALITY UNIVERSITIES, BUT ALSO, IT IS DISPROPORTIONATELY DISTRIBUTED AT THE LOWER END OF THE FACULTY RANKS.

TABLE II, BELOW, SHOWS THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AMONG FACULTY WITH DOCTORATES, BY RANK AND FIELD. FOR EACH FIELD, THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN GETS LARGER FROM FULL PROFESSOR DOWN TO INSTRUCTOR OR LECTURER. THERE ARE LARGE AND STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AMONG FULL PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS AND LECTURERS IN ALL BUT THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES, WHERE THE SMALL SIZE OF THE AVAILIBILITY POOL PLACES AN ARTIFICIAL CEILING ON UNDERUTILIZATION.

TABLE II

% WOMEN AMONG FACULTY MEMBERS WITH DOCTORATES BY RANK AND FIELD

	Full Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Asst. Prof.	Inst., Lect.	Rank Difference	Total
Humanities	3%	7%	12%	30%	27 *	8%
	(588)	(332)	(529)	(76)		(1525)
Social Sciences	2%	6%	11%	27%	25 *	8%
	(490)	(298)	(441)	(90)		(1319)
Biological Sciences	2%	8%	13%	33%	31 *	8%
	(393)	(235)	(287)	(42)		(957)
Physical Sciences	1%	3%	5%	4%	3 N. S.	3%
	(587)	(292)	(390)	(119)		(1388)
Total Academic Fields	2%	6%	10%	20%	18 *	7%
	(2058)	(1157)	(1647)	(327)		(5189)

SOURCE: SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF CARNEGIE DATA.

IN ORDER TO TEST THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE RANK DIFFERENCE WAS MERELY AN ARTIFACT OF ACADEMIC WOMEN FOLLOWING THEIR HUSBANDS FROM PLACE TO PLACE, NUMBER OF YEARS AT INSTITUTION WAS CONTROLLED. THE RANK DIFFERENCE FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE INCREASES FROM [illegible] POINTS

TO TWENTY-EIGHT PERCENTAGE POINTS AMONG THOSE WHO HAD SPENT SEVEN OR MORE YEARS AT THEIR CURRENT INSTITUTION. TABLE III SHOWS THE INCREASE IN RANK DIFFERENCE IN PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WITH INCREASING NUMBER OF YEARS AT THE INSTITUTION, FOR ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL FIELDS.

TABLE III

% WOMEN AMONG FACULTY WITH DOCTORATES BY RANK AND NUMBER OF YEARS AT INSTITUTION

	Full Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Asst. Prof.	Inst., Lect.	Rank Difference	Total
LESS THAN, OR UP TO 3 YEARS	2%	5%	7%	16%	14 *	7%
	(326)	(423)	(1513)	(291)		(2553)
4-6 YEARS	4%	4%	13%	23%	19 *	8%
	(296)	(533)	(633)	(71)		(1533)
7 OR MORE YEARS	2%	8%	25%	30%	28 *	5%
	(2391)	(833)	(142)	(76)		(3442)
TOTAL, ALL FIELDS	2%	6%	10%	19%	17 *	6%
	(3013)	(1789)	(2288)	(438)		(7528)

SOURCE: SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF CARNEGIE DATA.

THIS SECTION HAS DEMONSTRATED BOTH THE UNDERUTILIZATION OF THOSE WHO ALREADY BELONG TO THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS IN A NATIONAL SAMPLE, AND THE DIFFERENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AT THE LOWER RANKS. THE DIFFERENCE IN THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN FROM FULL PROFESSOR TO INSTRUCTOR-LECTURER GROWS LARGER WITH EACH INCREASE IN LENGTH OF TIME AT THE INSTITUTION. IT APPEARS FROM THESE DATA THAT SOME NON-RANDOM FACTORS ARE OPERATING ON WOMEN WHO HAVE ALREADY ENTERED THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS. FURTHER RESEARCH IS NEEDED TO ISOLATE PARTICULAR PROBLEM

AREAS AND SITUATIONS, SO THAT EFFECTIVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MIGHT BE IMPLEMENTED AT THE HIRING AND PROMOTION LEVEL. SUCH A PROGRAM WOULD FREE THOSE ALREADY EMPLOYED IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH AT UNIVERSITIES TO RISE AS HIGH AS THEIR TALENTS, ENERGIES AND AMBITIONS MIGHT TAKE THEM, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR ETHNICITY. THE NEXT SECTION WILL DISCUSS SOME FILTERING POINTS AT WHICH ACCESS TO THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS IS BLOCKED.

3. FILTERS WHICH BLOCK ACCESS TO THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS.

TO THE EXTENT THAT CERTAIN GROUPS OF PERSONS ARE SYSTEMATICALLY FILTERED OUT OF THE PIPELINES TO THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS, EFFECTIVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REQUIRES THAT THE FILTERING MECHANISMS BE IDENTIFIED AND REMEDIED. THIS SECTION WILL TRACE THROUGH SOME OF THE FILTERING POINTS WHICH IMPEDE FREE ACCESS TO THE KIND OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT WHICH ULTIMATELY LEADS TO HIRING AT TENURED FACULTY LEVELS.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, WE KNOW THAT CERTAIN GROUPS OF STUDENTS ARE LESS LIKELY TO TAKE ANY MORE MATHEMATICS IN HIGH SCHOOL THAN IS REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY. THESE INCLUDE WOMEN AND SOME MINORITIES. A STUDY OF ADMISSIONS APPLICATIONS OF BERKELEY FRESHMEN SHOWS THAT WHILE 57% OF THE BOYS HAD TAKEN FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL MATH (FIRST YEAR ALGEBRA, GEOMETRY, SECOND YEAR ALGEBRA, TRIGONOMETRY, AND ANOTHER HALF YEAR OF SOLID GEOMETRY,) ONLY 8% OF THE GIRLS HAD DONE SO, A DIFFERENCE OF FORTY-NINE PERCENTAGE POINTS IN FOUR YEARS OF MATHEMATICS.[3]

THE FOUR YEAR MATH SEQUENCE IS REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO THE FIRST YEAR CALCULUS SEQUENCE, MATH 1 A-B-C. THIS SEQUENCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE UNDERGRADUATE MAJOR IN EVERY FIELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXCEPT THE "TRADITIONALLY FEMALE", AND HENCE LOWER PAYING, FIELDS OF HUMANITIES, SOCIAL SCIENCES, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL WELFARE. RECENT DATA ON BERKELEY ETHNIC ENROLLMENT SUGGEST THE SAME PATTERN FOR NON-ASIAN MINORITY GROUPS.[4]

IT APPEARS THAT HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS AND SOME MINORITES ARE EXPERIENCING DIFFERENT KINDS OF SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR TAKING MATHEMATICS THAN BOYS AND ASIANS. THIS HYPOTHESIS WAS CONFIRMED IN A CONTENT

ANALYSIS OF STATEMENTS MADE BY STUDENTS IN A QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ABOUT THEIR HIGH SCHOOL MATHEMATICS PREPARATION AND PERFORMANCE. IT CONTAINED QUESTIONS ABOUT PERFORMANCE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND HIGH SCHOOL; WHETHER OR NOT RESPONDENTS HAD TAKEN MATHEMATICS BEYOND THE FIRST YEAR GEOMETRY REQUIREMENT IN HIGH SCHOOL; AND AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION, "WHAT DID YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED YOUR INTEREST AND APTITUDE FOR DOING MATHEMATICS?" THE RESPONSES WERE CODED FOR PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, OR PEERS, WITH RESPECT TO MATHEMATICS; WHETHER OR NOT STUDENTS HAD TAKEN MATHEMATICS BEYOND THE MINIMAL TWO YEAR REQUIREMENT FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA; WHAT THEIR GRADES WERE IF THEY DID SO.

THERE WAS A STRONG AND STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESENCE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, OR PEERS, AND THE PURSUIT OF ADVANCED MATHEMATICS COURSES IN HIGH SCHOOL.[5] WHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRESENCE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT AND PERFORMANCE, MEASURED BY A'S OR B'S COMPARED WITH C'S OR D'S WAS ANALYZED, THERE WAS ALSO A STRONG AND STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT ONE FOUND.[6]

AN EFFECTIVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WOULD BE ONE WHICH EDUCATES PARENTS, COUNSELORS, TEACHERS, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES, ON THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING ONE'S OPTIONS OPEN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. THE FAILURE OF STUDENTS WITH THE ABILITY TO PERFORM TO TAKE AS MUCH MATHEMATICS AS THEY CAN GET WHILE IN HIGH SCHOOL EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDES FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF UNDERGRADUATE DISCIPLINE, AND FILTERS PEOPLE INTO THE "HELPING" DISCIPLINES OF EDUCATION, NURSING, AND SOCIAL WELFARE, AND THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, WHILE WOMEN APPEAR TO BE ADMITTED TO GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS IN THE SAME PROPORTION AS THEY APPLY, THERE IS A DROP IN THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN EARNING THE BACCALAUREATE IN A FIELD, AND IN THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN APPLYING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THAT FIELD. AT BERKELEY, 26% OF THE B. S.'S IN THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES ARE EARNED BY WOMEN, BUT ONLY 11% OF THE APPLICANTS TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THOSE FIELDS ARE WOMEN.[7] AMBITIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR PURSUIT OF GRADUATE CAREERS ARE SHAPED AS MUCH BY FACULTY AND PEER ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT AS BY

INDIVIDUAL, IDIOSYNCRATIC FACTORS. AN EFFECTIVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM WOULD BE ONE WHICH EDUCATES FACULTY TO THE NEED FOR IDENTIFYING AND ENCOURAGING TALENTED STUDENTS, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR ETHNICITY. IT FURTHER WOULD WORK TO DEVELOP SELF ESTEEM AND SELF CONFIDENCE AMONG THESE OUTSIDERS TO TRADITIONAL DOCTORAL PROGRAMS.

IN THE THIRD PLACE, EVEN WHEN ADMITTED TO DOCTORAL PROGRAMS, WOMEN HAVE A HISTORY OF HIGHER DROPOUT RATES THAN MEN. A SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF DATA ON WOODROW WILSON FELLOWS WHO ENTERED GRADUATE SCHOOL FROM 1958 THROUGH 1963 SHOWS A SEX DIFFERENCE IN DROPOUTS OF TWENTY PERCENT, AND A FIELD DIFFERENCE OF TWNTY PERCENT FROM HUMANITIES (58%) TO PHYSICAL SCIENCES (30%). THE SEX DIFFERENCE ALMOST DISAPPEARS AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SECOND YEAR FELLOWSHIP SUPPORT. IT GETS MUCH LARGER AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE CHILDREN. IT GETS EVEN LARGER AMONG THOSE RATED "EXCELLENT"BY THEIR GRADUATE FACULTY. WHILE 12% OF THE MEN IN THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES WHO WERE RATED "EXCELLENT" DROPPED OUT, 50% OF THE WOMEN RATED "EXCELLENT DROPPED OUT, GIVING A SEX DIFFERENCE OF THIRTY-EIGHT PERCENTAGE POINTS. AMONG THOSE RATED "AVERAGE TO DREADFUL", ONLY 51% OF THE MEN DROPPED OUT WITHOUT A DOCTORATE.

IT APPEARS THAT SOMETHING OTHER THAN MERITOCRACY WAS OPERATING ON THE GRADUATE CAREERS OF WOODROW WILSON FELLOWS IN THE EARLY SIXTIES. AN EFFECTIVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM WOULD BE ONE WHICH IDENTIFIES THOSE FACTORS WHICH ARE STILL OPERATING DIFFERENTLY FOR MEN AND FOR WOMEN, AND THOSE WHICH HAVE CHANGED IN THE PAST DECADE. IT WOULD RESULT IN A TABLE WHICH SHOWEDTHAT "AMONG THE "EXCELLENT" STUDENTS, LESS THAN 10% DROPPED OUT WITHOUT THE DOCTORATE, INDEPENDENTLY OF SEX OR ETHNICITY, AND AMONG THOSE RATED "AVERAGE TO DREADFUL" MORE THAN 80% DROPPED OUT, INDEPENDENTLY OF SEX OR ETHNICITY.

WHILE THE DATA PRESENTED IN THIS PAPER ARE BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCES IN ACCESS TO THE POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS FOR HIRING AT TENURED FACULTY LEVELS, THE SAME FILTERING MECHANISMS OPERATE TO BAR ACCESS FOR SOME MINORITY PERSONS AS WELL. A PILOT PROJECT SUGGESTS SOME PROCESSES WHICH IMPINGE ON ALL GRADUATE STUDENTS, BUT MORE INTENSELY ON WOMEN, AND MOST

INTENSELY OF ALL ON MINORITY STUDENTS. THESE PROCESSES APPEAR TO INCLUDE AN INCREASING SENSE OF ISOLATION FROM FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS, ABSENCE OF POSITIVE FEEDBACK, AMBIGUITY OF NORMS GOVERNING EVALUATION OF WORK, AMBIVALENCE ABOUT SUCCESS IN THE ACADEMIC RAT-RACE, AND, UNLESS THE STUDENT STARTS TO EXPERIENCE SOME OF THE REWARDS AND GRATIFICATIONS OF ACADEMIC SUCCESS, A DROPPING OUT FROM THE DOCTORAL PROGRAM. RESEARCH IS IN PROGRESS TO TRY TO FIND WAYS OF OVERCOMING THESE PROCESSES.

4. Conclusion

IN CONCLUSION AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS NECESSARY BOTH TO UTILIZE THE EXISTING POOL OF QUALIFIED PERSONS, AND TO ENLARGE THE POOL OF THOSE WHO MIGHT BE QUALIFIED IN THE FUTURE. IF WOMEN AND MINORITIES SEE ONLY WHITE MALES ON THE FACULTIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENTS, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THEMSELVES BREAKING THE BARRIER. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL SOURCE OF AMBIVALENCE ABOUT EARNING THE DOCTORATE. WHY BOTHER IF YOU CAN'T GET A JOB?

GENUINE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY CREATING A SOCIAL CLIMATE IN WHICH ALL PERSONS ARE EVALUATED ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PERFORMANCE, INDEPENDENTLY OF SEX OR ETHNICITY. THIS WILL INVOLVE A LONG-RANGE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AIMED AT THREE MAJOR TARGETS:

1. THOSE DOING THE HIRING, TO SHOW THEM THAT THERE ARE WOMEN AND MINORITY PERSONS ALREADY IN THE POOL, AND TO SUGGEST CREATIVE, INNOVATIVE WAYS OF USING THEM.

2. THOSE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE FILTERING PROCESS IN THE PAST, TO SENSITIZE THEM TO THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION; TO HELP THEM UNDERSTAND HOW SEX-ROLE AND ETHNIC STEREOTYPES BASED ON THE SIXTIES ARE NO LONGER RELEVANT IN THE SEVENTIES.

3. THOSE WHO HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO SEEK ACCESS TO THE POOL, BY IDENTIFYING AND ENCOURAGING TALENT, COMMITMENT, AND WILLINGNESS TO WORK; TO HELP THEM UNDERSTAND HOW SEX-ROLE AND ETHNIC STEROTYPES ARE BOTH INTERNALIZED IN THE PERSONALITY SYSTEM AS NEED DISPOSITIONS, AND INSTITUTIONALIZED IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS ROLE EXPECTATIONS, SO THAT SUCH STEREOTYPES CAN BE OVERCOME AT BOTH THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM LEVELS.

FOOTNOTES

1. This policy comes out of: Executive Order 11246 as amended; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended; Equal Pay Act of 1963 as amended; Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972.

2. Women's Equity Action League, PROPORTION OF DOCTORATES EARNED BY WOMEN, BY AREA AND FIELD, 1960-1969. Distributed by: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20009.

3. Lucy W. Sells, PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE STATUS OF GRADUATE WOMEN: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, March 30, 1973. "Pilot Study on High School Mathematics Preparation," pages 44-4 .

4. Lucy W. Sells, "Ethnic Distribution of Berkeley Students, Fall 1972", Mimeographed, April 21, 1973, Berkeley.

5. Q = .94, (χ^2 = 13.87, p < .001, with 1 degree of freedom, N = 38.)

6. Q = 1.00, (χ^2 = 9.29, p < .01 with 1 degree of freedom, N = 20.

7. Sells, PRELIMINARY REPORT, p. 5.

8. Ibid., pages 23-27.